

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 6671

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FOR DELIVERY OPENING OF BUSINESS JULY 18

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS, CD, US, CG

SUBJECT: MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO CHAD

REF: A) STATE 166492, B) STATE 166037

1. SUMMARY: ZAIRE WOULD PROBABLY RESPOND POSITIVELY TO APPEAL TO JOIN IN MULTILATERAL EFFORT TO ASSIST CHAD, I INCLUDING

PARTICIPATING IN MEETING OF "FRIENDS OF CHAD". IN VIEW OF CONTINUING SECURITY CONCERNS IN WAKE OF SHABA INVASION, HOWEVER, GOZ WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANT MILITARY ASSISTANCE. OF US-SUPPLIED MATERIEL IN ZAIRE, LOAN OF ONE OR TWO C-130 AIRCRAFT AND PROVISION OF LIMITED QUANTITIES OF C-RATIONS WOULD SEEM MOST FEASIBLE. GOZ WOULD PROBABLY AGREE TO SUCH TRANSFERS, ALTHOUGH IT MIGHT SEEK QUID PRO QUO FROM US IN FORM OF SOME ADDITIONAL AID. GOZ MIGHT ALSO CONSIDER SENDING TO CHAD SEVERAL OF ITS MIRAGE FIGHTERS. END SUMMARY.

2. WE BELIEVE GOZ WOULD REACT POSITIVELY TO APPEAL TO JOIN MULTILATERAL EFFORT TO ASSIST CHAD. SUCH RESPONSE WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH MOBUTU'S EFFORT DURING AND SINCE THE SHABA
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INVASION TO ENCOURAGE OTHER AFRICAN AS WELL AS ARAB MODERATES TO STAND UP TOGETHER TO WHAT HE PERCEIVES AS SOVIET-INSPIRED AND SUPPORTED THREAT FROM RADICALS. LIBYAN THREAT TO CHAD'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY WOULD SEEM TO FIT THIS PERCEPTION.

3. GOZ WOULD PROBABLY PARTICIPATE IN MEETING OF "FRIENDS OF CHAD" IF IT WERE ASSURED OTHER HEAVY-WEIGHTS AMONG AFRICAN

MODERATES WOULD TOO. FRENCH HOSTING MEETING IN PARIS WOULD PROBABLY ALSO BE ACCEPTABLE, CONSIDERING MAJOR ROLE FRANCE PLAYED DURING SHABA INVASION AND CLOSE FRANCO-ZAIRIAN RELATIONS WHICH PERSIST. HOWEVER, ZAIRE'S COOPERATION MIGHT BE FACILITATED BY KEEPING ASSISTANCE EFFORT TO CHAD OVERTLY IN AFRICAN CONTEXT TO EXTENT POSSIBLE, AT LEAST TO THE POINT OF OAU PRESIDENT ISSUING STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR CHAD'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY-- AS RAMGOOLAM DID FOR ZAIRE DURING SHABA INVASION.

4. POSSIBLE INHIBITION TO ZAIRE'S OVERTLY LINING UP WITH CHAD AGAINST LIBYA IS NEGATIVE EFFECT THIS MIGHT HAVE ON LIBYAN ASSISTANCE TO GOZ. LIBYAN GOVERNMENT IS CURRENTLY FINANCING ABOUT 40 PERCENT OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE COSTS OF ON-GOING GECAMINES COPPER MINING EXPANSION PROJECT. LIBYAN LOAN AMOUNTS TO \$100 MILLION, ABOUT ONE THIRD OF WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN DISBURSED. ADDITIONAL FINANCING TO MEET COST OVER-RUN WILL ALSO BE NEEDED. ON THE OTHER HAND, ZAIRE NO LONGER DEPENDS ON LIBYA AS MAJOR SUPPLIER OF PETROLEUM IMPORTS. ON BALANCE, WE BELIEVE GOZ'S BROADER POLITICAL INTEREST IN HOLDING LINE AGAINST RADICALS WOULD OUTWEIGH RISK OF LIBYAN CUT-OFF OF FINANCIAL AID TO ZAIRE. IN THIS CASE GOZ MIGHT LOOK TO SAUDI ARABIA (WHICH MOBUTU VISITING LATER THIS WEEK) TO PICK UP WHERE LIBYANS MIGHT LEAVE OFF IN ZAIRE.

5. BECAUSE OF THEIR OWN CONTINUING CONCERNS RE POSSIBLE NEW ATTACKS FROM ANGOLA, NOTABLY BY KATANGAN GENDARMES IN SHABA, CONFIDENTIAL

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ZAIRIANS WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO PROVIDE VERY MUCH TO CHAD IN THE WAY OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE. (AS DEPARTMENT IS AWARE FROM INTELLIGENCE REPORTS, CHAD HAS ALREADY ASKED ZAIRE FOR MILITARY AID; WE ARE UNAWARE, HOWEVER, OF WHAT IF ANY HELP ZAIRE HAS PROVIDED IN RESPONSE.) GOZ MIGHT SUPPLY TWO OR THREE MIRAGE FIGHTER AIRCRAFT, WITH EITHER ZAIRIAN OR FRENCH PILOTS. FRENCH WOULD PRESUMABLY HAVE TO PROVIDE MAINTENANCE AS WELL. MIRAGES PROVED QUITE EFFECTIVE IN SHABA FROM STANDPOINT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT ON INVADERS.⁹

6. AS FOR US-SUPPLIED MATERIEL IN ZAIRE, GOZ MIGHT AGREE TO LOAN ONE OR TWO IF ITS SIX C-130 AIRCRAFT TO CHAD, TOGETHER WITH ZAIRIAN CREWS. OF THESE SIX, FIVE ARE CURRENTLY OPERATIONAL. GOZ MIGHT ALSO PROVIDE LIMITED QUANTITIES OF C-RATIONS, WHICH PRESUMABLY COULD BE DRAWN FROM 180 TONS OF RATIONS RECENTLY DELIVERED BY US UNDER FMS PROGRAM. GIVEN ZAIRE'S SECURITY REQUIREMENTS, VERY LITTLE IF ANY OTHER US-SUPPLIED MATERIEL WOULD APPEAR TO BE AVAILABLE FOR TRANSFER TO CHAD.

7. IN THE PAST MOBUTU HAS TALKED ABOUT DESIRABILITY OF ZAIRE'S SERVING AS FOCAL POINT FOR TRAINING AND TO AN EXTENT SUPPLYING SECURITY FORCES OF SMALLER MODERATE STATES IN CENTRAL AFRICA,

IDEA BEING THAT US WOULD PROVIDE ZAIRE WITH ASSISTANCE NECESSARY TO PERFORM SUCH SERVICES. THTRANSFER OF US-ORIGIN MATERIEL TO CHAD MIGHT THUS APPEAL TO MOBUTU, ALTHOUGH HE WOULD LIKELY SEEK SOME FORM OF COMPENSATION AND PERHAPS EVEN ADDITIONAL AID AS QUID PRO QUO. IN THIS RESPECT WE SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT MOBUTU IS STILL SMARTING FROM WHAT HE VIEWS AS OUR LUKEWARM RESPONSE TO HIS OWN URGENT APPEALS FOR HELP AT TIME OF SHABA CRISIS. HE WILL INEVITABLY MEASURE OUR CONCERN FOR CHAD'S SECURITY IN THAT CONTEXT, AS WELL AS HIS OWN RESPONSE TO ANY REQUESTS FOR TRANSFER TO CHAD OF WHAT HE HAS RECEIVED FROM US.

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